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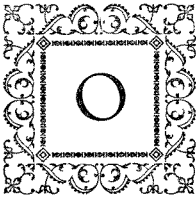


The American Tour of Dr. Spurzheim
by Anthony A. Walsh

The American Tour of Dr. Spurzheim

ANTHONY A. WALSH

INTRODUCTION

NE hundred and forty years ago events occurred in Boston unequalled in attracting public attention by any since the days of the Declaration of Independence. The year was 1832 and it was to be a memorable one. During that year occurred the deaths of Cuvier, Goethe, and Sir Walter Scott.¹ In that same year, on 21 June, Asiatic cholera appeared and 3,000 people died in New York City alone.² The last signer of the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll, died in Maryland at the age of ninety-six,³ while Obett Hussy's new reaping machine and the appearance of the first horse-drawn streetcars in New York led society to believe that they were certainly fortunate to be living in such a highly technological age.⁴

This was also an age of reform. Enthusiastic religion in western New York was attracting everyone's attention.⁵ Mesmerism and phrenology were in the wind but their influence was yet to be fully felt. The events in Boston may be dated from August 1832 when Johann Christoph Spurzheim, the disciple and confidant of Franz Joseph Gall, the founder of phrenology, arrived in this country to promulgate his doctrines among the Americans, to study the Indians, the condition of the slaves in the South, and to meet William Ellery Channing. Since the American people were

This paper was read on 2 May at the 3rd Annual Convention of Cheiron, The International Society for the History of the Behavioral and Social Sciences, New School for Social Research, Fordham University, New York University, 29 April to 2 May 1971.

1. E. Emerson, Jr., *A history of the nineteenth century year by year* (New York, 1902), 3 vols., II, 818-835.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 834; and F. H. Garrison, *An introduction to the history of medicine*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 440.

3. Emerson (n. 1), p. 835.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 834-835.

5. W. R. Cross, *The burned over district: The social and intellectual history of enthusiastic religion in western New York, 1800-1850* (New York, 1950).

eager for the novel, and for anything that would improve society and mankind, they were ready for Dr. Spurzheim.⁶

America was made aware of the doctrines of phrenology in 1822,⁷ although Nicholas Biddle had brought home a skull marked by Spurzheim in 1806 or 1807.⁸ In 1820 John Collins Warren lectured on phrenology before the Massachusetts Medical Society (see n. 50). Charles Caldwell of the Medical Department of Transylvania College lectured to his classes on the subject in 1821–22, and in 1823 John D. Wells of Bowdoin did the same.⁹ Caldwell became a peripatetic lecturer on phrenology, visiting major cities throughout both the North and South; and, in 1828, for example, he visited and lectured in Boston.¹⁰ *The Phrenological Journal and Miscellany* of Edinburgh had begun publication in December 1823, and no doubt a few copies reached America during the years before 1832.¹¹ The development of interest in phrenology in the United States, however, was more gradual than it was in Europe. While a few phrenological societies had been formed in this country prior to 1832, Great Britain was easily in

6. Biographical information on Spurzheim may be obtained from H¹⁶ [Hippolyte] Bruyères, *La phrénologie le geste et la physionomie démontrés par 120 portraits, sujets et compositions gravés sur acier, etc.* (Paris, 1847), pp. 493–516 [Bruyères was a painter and Spurzheim's stepson]; N. Capen, *Biography of the author* [J. C. Spurzheim] in J. G. Spurzheim, *Phrenology in connexion with the study of physiognomy* (Boston, 1833), 1st Amer. ed., pp. 9–168; N. Capen, *Reminiscences of Dr. Spurzheim and George Combe: and a review of the science of phrenology, from the period of its discovery by Dr. Gall, to the time of the visit of George Combe to the United States, 1838, 1840* (New York, 1881); A. Carmichael, *A memoir of the life and philosophy of Spurzheim* (Boston, 1833); and the more recent brief biographical account by this writer, A. A. Walsh, 'Introduction,' in J. C. Spurzheim, *Observations on the deranged manifestations of the mind, or insanity* (Gainesville, Fla., 1970 [Reprint of 1st Amer. ed., 1833]), pp. v–xiv. On p. xiv I comment briefly on the variations in Spurzheim's given names in different publications—Johann Gaspar, Johann Fridericke, etc.

7. In 1822 Dr. John Bell of Philadelphia republished George Combe's *Essays on phrenology, or an inquiry into the principles and utility of the system of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, and into the objections made against it* (Philadelphia, 1822), dedicating it to Philip Syng Physick. According to A. Boardman, 'This appears to have been the first publication in favour of the science, issued in the United States.' (A. Boardman, '[N]otes, an introductory essay, and an historical sketch . . .,' in G. Combe, *Lectures on phrenology* [New York, 1839], p. 78). For biographical information on G. Combe, see A. A. Walsh, 'George Combe: A portrait of a heretofore generally unknown behaviorist,' *J. Hist. Behav. Sci.*, 1971, 7, 269–278. Charles Caldwell, the 'American Spurzheim' (J. D. Davies, *Phrenology: fad and science: A 19th-century American crusade* [New Haven, 1955], p. 13) did not publish his *Elements of phrenology* (Lexington, Ky.)—the first book on phrenology by an American—until 1824 (E. F. Horine, *Biographical sketch and guide to the writings of Charles Caldwell, M.D.* [Brooks, Ky., 1960], p. 47).

8. G. Combe, *Notes on the United States of North America during a phrenological visit in 1838–9–40* (Philadelphia, 1841), 2 vols., I, 188.

9. Boardman (n. 7), p. 79, cf. Horine (n. 7), p. 11.

10. Boardman (n. 7), p. 80.

11. This was the first journal of its kind in the world. The journal was founded by George Combe (C. Gibbon, *The life of George Combe, author of "The constitution of man"* [London, 1878], 2 vols., I, 161). Combe was also involved in the formation of the first phrenological society (cf. *Trans. Phrenol. Soc., Instituted 22d February 1820* [Edinburgh, 1824]), pp. 53–55.

the lead.¹² In any event, the American palate had been whetted sufficiently to make Spurzheim's visit most timely. In the latter part of 1831, after about eighteen years as a public lecturer independent of Gall, Spurzheim had decided to settle in Paris.¹³ Not long after he began receiving pressing invitations to visit this country, especially Boston, and particularly from a gentleman named Dunbar.¹⁴ Leaving Havre on 20 June 1832, he arrived in New York on 4 August, a relatively fast trip for the period.

THE AMERICAN TOUR

As was pointed out earlier, New York was under siege by the Asiatic cholera during this summer. As a result, Spurzheim remained in New York for only a week and on 11 August left for Boston. His first stop on the way was Yale College where he was first exposed to the literati of New England. He was received with great consideration by the faculty there; and according to Benjamin Silliman who invited him to Yale's commencement exercises:

... the Professors were in love with him. ... He was much interested in the public exercises, the whole of which he attended, and it was easy to read in his expressive features the impression made upon his mind by the different speakers; it was obvious he understood everything he heard. In the evening of the commencement day he attended the annual meeting of the Society of the Alumni, and listened attentively to their discussions. He dissected the brain of a child that had died of hydrocephalus, and gave great satisfaction to the medical gentlemen present by the unexampled skill and the perfectly novel manner in which he performed the dissection.¹⁵

Spurzheim remained in New Haven until 16 August when he left for Hartford. There, in the company of the distinguished founder of *The American Journal of Insanity* (1844), Dr. Amariah Brigham,¹⁶ Spurzheim

12. For a history of phrenology in Great Britain to ca. 1838 see H. C. Watson, *Statistics of phrenology: being a sketch of the progress and present state of that science in the British Islands* (London, 1836); 'Phrenology: its origin and early history, with a consideration of some of the more common objections to it,' *Amer. phrenol. J. & Miscel.*, 1838, 1, 33-39; 'Phrenology in Great Britain,' *ibid.*, pp. 39-50; G. Combe, 'Preliminary dissertation on the progress and application of phrenology,' in *Transactions* (n. 11), pp. 1-62. Davies (n. 7), gives a more general social history.

13. Carmichael (n. 6), p. 46. The reader interested in polemics may wish to peruse a review of Carmichael's *Memoir*, 'A memoir of the life and philosophy of Spurzheim. By Andrew Carmichael, M.R.I.A.,' *Dublin Univ. Mag.*, 1833, 1, 582-595.

14. Personal communication, Dr. Paul I. Yakovlev, Harvard Medical School, Warren Anatomical Museum, 12 December 1967.

15. Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), p. 9.

16. Amariah Brigham and other early psychiatrists were very sympathetic toward the assumptions of the phrenologists. On Brigham's personal views see *Amer. J. Insan.*, 1844, 1, 105. On the influence

toured the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, the Retreat for the Insane, and the State Prison at Wethersfield.¹⁷ On the evening of 20 August he arrived in Boston and took lodgings at the Exchange Coffee House. The following day he engaged permanent rooms at Mrs. Sarah Lekain's boarding house at No. 3 Pearl Street where he was to remain until his death.¹⁸

Spurzheim's arrival in the 'Athens of America' was announced in all the public journals,¹⁹ 'The rich and the learned soon paid him their respects . . . and a course of polite engagements was at once commenced.'²⁰ Among the notables with whom Spurzheim kept company were Nathaniel Bowditch, author of the *New American Practical Navigator* (1802), Daniel Webster, and Josiah Quincy, then president of Harvard. At the personal invitation of the latter he was an honored guest at the Harvard commencement and at the proceedings of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

Spurzheim's first appearance as a public lecturer was before the 'American Institute' in the Representatives' Hall of the State House in Boston.²¹ At the request of that society he delivered a lecture on his views concerning education.²² On 14 September he began lectures on the anatomy of the brain for the medical faculty of Harvard and for other professional men

of phrenology on other early psychiatrists, see E. T. Carlson, 'The influence of phrenology on early American psychiatric thought,' *Amer. J. Psychiat.*, 1958, 115, 535-538. Brigham edited the 1st American edition of Spurzheim's *Observations on . . . insanity* (Boston, 1833) and A. Combe's *Observations on mental derangement: being an application of the principles of phrenology to the elucidation of the causes, symptoms, nature, and treatment of insanity* (Boston, 1834). The Spurzheim volume is available in facsimile (n. 6), while the Combe volume is in preparation by this writer.

17. In a letter dated 22 May 1833 Brigham told Capen: 'I have many interesting facts respecting Spurzheim's visit to the Prison, Insane Retreat, Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, etc. . . . The Warden of the Prison has repeatedly assured me that Dr. Spurzheim gave the characters of many of the criminals, especially of the noted ones, as correctly as he himself could have done who had long known them.' Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), pp. 9-10.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 10; see also notes appended to the letter from Nathaniel I. Bowditch to his brother Dr. Henry I. Bowditch in *Colonial Soc. Mass. Publ.* (Boston, 1907), 10, 77-82. Similar accounts of this period by Capen appear in his biography of Spurzheim in the latter's *Physiognomy*, etc. (n. 6). See also C. Follen's *Funeral oration: delivered before the citizens of Boston assembled at the Old South Church, Nov. XVII at the burial of Gaspar Spurzheim, M.D., of the Universities of Vienna and Paris, and licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in London* (Boston, 1832).

19. A partial list of notices is appended to the Bowditch letter (n. 18), p. 77.

20. Capen, *Biography* (n. 6), p. 106.

21. According to Capen, 'The Institute [as an organization] meets annually . . . for the purpose of hearing lectures on subjects connected with education. It is composed chiefly of instructors and professional men, from various parts of the United States . . .'; cf. Capen, *Biography* (n. 6), p. 107.

22. On Spurzheim's philosophy of education see G. Spurzheim, *A view of the elementary principles of education, founded on the study of the nature of man* (Boston, 1836). Capen gives us the following account: 'When it was known that he was to speak, there was a general interest excited, all had a desire to see and hear him, and the occasion brought together a large and most respectable audience of ladies and gentlemen. He delivered his lecture without notes (as he always did) and was listened to with profound attention. The audience seemed to be perfectly delighted. His views were original and practical, and all could understand them.' *Reminiscences* (n. 6), p. 25.

from the Boston area,²³ and on 17 September a series of lectures for the general public.²⁴ For the public lectures a *Syllabus of a Demonstrative Course of Eighteen Lectures on Phrenology* was prepared.²⁵ The topics were certainly esoteric and purely phrenological, e.g.,

Lect. v.—2. *For the immediate preservation of the species*, by amateness and philoprogenitiveness. 3. For auxillary means of preserving the individual and the species by inhabitiveness, combativeness; secretiveness . . . [and]

Lect. xvi.—Phrenology in connexion with physiognomy.—Principles of the natural language.²⁶

Both the public lectures in Boston and those at the University (in Cambridge) were extremely successful.

They attracted alike the fashionable and the learned, the gay and the grave, the aged and the young, the skeptic and the Christian. . . . [The] most eminent men, as well as humble citizens, were early in the Hall to secure eligible seats; and they were alike profoundly silent and attentive to the eloquence and philosophy of the lecturer. . . . Some of those who at first attended with a view to collect ma-

23. *Daily Evening Transcript*, 1832, 3, No. 635 (Thursday, 13 Sept.), p. 2; and Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), p. 25.

24. 'Phrenology. Dr. Spurzheim, will deliver a course of 18 lectures on phrenology, at the lecture room of the [Boston] Athenæum, Pearl Street, on Monday's Wednesday's, and Friday's, at half past seven o'clock in the evening, to commence on Monday, the 17th inst. Tickets of admission \$6 each to be had at Marsh, Capen & Lyon's Bookstore, No. 133 Washington Street and at the entrance. Admission to a single lecture 50 cents. W S & M sept. 11.' *Daily Evening Transcript*, 1832, 3, No. 633 (Tuesday, 11 Sept.), p. 3.

25. A copy of this extremely rare document is in the private collection of the author who has not seen reference to another like it.

26. The remaining sixteen lectures were as follows: 'Lect. i.—Introduction. —Anthropology is the proper study of man.—Its division.—Name, object and limits of phrenology.—Its consequences and importance.—The philosophy of the mental phenomena is little advanced.—Causes.—It must become a positive science, by studying the relations between mind and body.—Temperaments.—Viscera. Lect. ii.—The brain is the organ of the mind: of the feelings as well as of its intellect.—Objections.—Absolute size of the brain.—Plurality of the mental powers and organs.—Division of the head into four regions: occipital, lateral, frontal, and sincipital.—The size and form of the external head indicate the size and form of the brain and its parts.—The two tables of the skull are not parallel.—Possibility —difficulty and impossibility of knowing the size of the cerebral parts by the external appearance of the head.—Cause of the form and size of the head and brain. Lect. iii.—Means of specifying the mental phenomena.—Speculative philosophers are satisfied with general notions.—Means of pointing out the mental organs.—Anatomy.—Mutilations.—The size of the cerebral organs in all their dimensions is sufficient to determine the nature but not the degree of their functions.—Proceeding and nomenclature of Dr. Gall.—Three inconveniences.—Rectification.—Phrenology is proved by repeated observations in individuals,—sexes,—nations,—criminals,—insane persons;—by comparative phrenology;—by anatomy, and by the natural language. Lect. iv.—Order in which the organs are to be examined: according to their local situation or according to the nature of their functions.—Division and subdivision of the mental phenomena.—Generalities of the feelings.—The Creator has provided for every condition of man; 1. *For the immediate preservation of the individual* by alimentiveness, and destructiveness. . . . Lect. vi.—Acquisitiveness; constructiveness, and cautiousness. 4. *For social relations*, by adhesiveness; approbateness; self-esteem; and Lect. vii.—By moral and religious feelings.—

materials for amusement, or for ridicule, were among the earliest to become converts to his system; and among those of his most constant and devoted auditors were some of our most respectable and intelligent ladies.²⁷

[John James] Audubon, in Boston apparently to invite Spurzheim to lecture in Philadelphia—and to continue with his ornithological work, informed the readers of the *Philadelphia Gazette* (on Friday evening, 19 October):

. . . I spoke to Spurzheim, about the invitation to visit Philadelphia, which has been extended to him; but the good man is doing so well here, that I suspect he will remain as long as the money pours into his pocket in a way it does at present. His lectures are well attended, and very interesting. He is about to commence a second series on the conclusion of which he will depart for Salem, &c.²⁸

The Boston lectures were indeed so successful that before their completion Spurzheim began a second series in Cambridge.²⁹ At this time, then, he

Transition from animals to man.—Difference between moral and religious sentiments.—Both sorts are innate and their manifestations depend on the brain in the sincipital region of the head.—Objections made by religious people.—These feelings, like all others, are, in themselves, without understanding.—Benevolence; veneration, firmness. Lect. viii.—Marvellousness; hope; conscientiousness. 5. *For a pleasing condition of life* by ideality; mirthfulness and imitation. Lect. ix.—6. *For an intelligent state*.—Essence and subdivision of intellect.—External senses.—Frontal region.—Difficulty to judge of it.—Frontal sinus.—Mental philosophy newly modelled by phrenology.—Attention and pleasure explained. Lect. x.—Perceptive faculties.—Knowledge of external objects and their physical qualities, or individuality, configuration, size, weight and resistance, and coloring. Lect. xi.—Perceptive faculties continued; memory explained; locality, order, calculation, applicable to various branches of knowledge, but no criterion of other talents.—Eventuality.—Time.—Tune.—Difference between the feeling, performance and science of music. Lect. xii.—Language, logic, reflective faculties or reason: comparison and causality.—Imagination, judgment, association, mnemonics, affections and passions explained. Lect. xiii.—Moral and religious considerations in connexion with phrenology.—Materialism.—Fatalism.—Necessity.—Liberty.—Responsibility.—Natural morality. Lect. xiv.—Modifications of the mental tendencies. Difficulty of judging.—Necessity of mutual forbearance. Lect. xv.—Characters.—Talents.—Natural sympathy and antipathy or harmonious and disharmonious dispositions.—Insanity, a bodily disease; moral causes.—Periodicity of nervous irritability. . . . Lect. xvii.—On Education. Definition of this term.—Perfectibility of man.—Conditions which increase or diminish the innate faculties. Lect. xviii.—Education continued.—Direction of the innate faculties, according to the natural laws, physical, moral and intellectual.—Variety of motives.—General and professional education.—Criminal legislation.—Happiness, individual and general.—Conditions.—Conclusion.³

27. Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), pp. 25–26.

28. *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, 1832, 3, No. 668 (Monday, 22 October), p. 2.

29. There is some confusion in the literature regarding the details of Spurzheim's lectures. A handwritten note dated 1832 on my copy of his *Syllabus* reads, 'Dr. Spurzheim's syllabus of his Lectures on Phrenology—18 lectures Sept. & Oct. 1832. The course was finished Boston 1832.' Both Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), p. 25, and Follen (n. 18), p. 14, indicate that two series of lectures took place; however, Follen indicates that Spurzheim first became ill during one of his last lectures in Boston (n. 18, p. 26) and did not complete them, while in another place he suggests (p. 14) that it was the Cambridge lectures which were not completed. The author tends to agree with the latter conclusion and E. Warren (*The life of John Collins Warren, M.D. compiled chiefly from his autobiography and journals* [Boston, 1860], 2 vols., II, 12) supports this view.

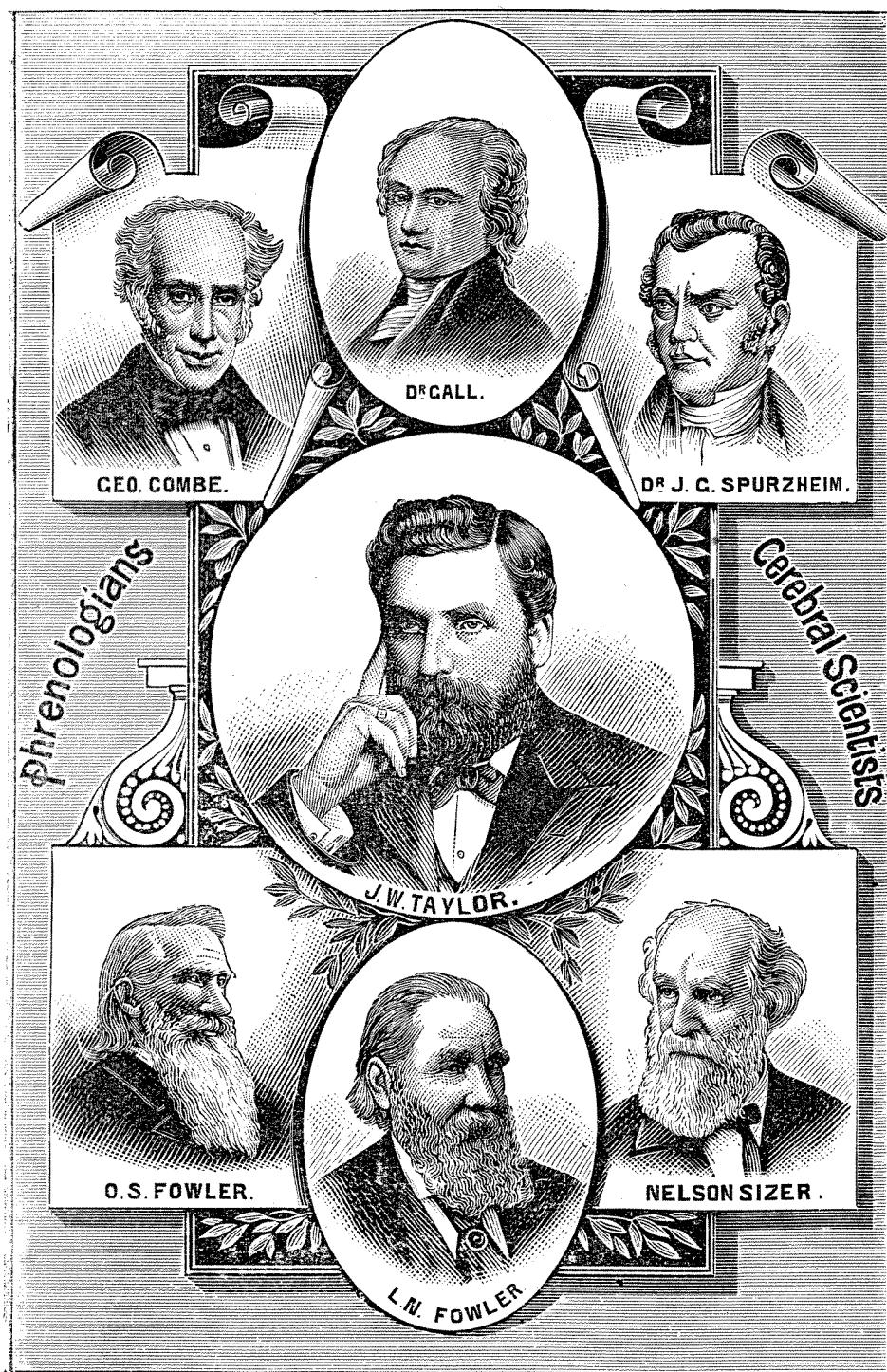


Fig. 1. Spurzheim's position in the hierarchy of 'Cerebral Scientists' as envisioned by John William Taylor in *The Revised Twentieth-Century Phrenology*, . . . (London, 1901), frontispiece.

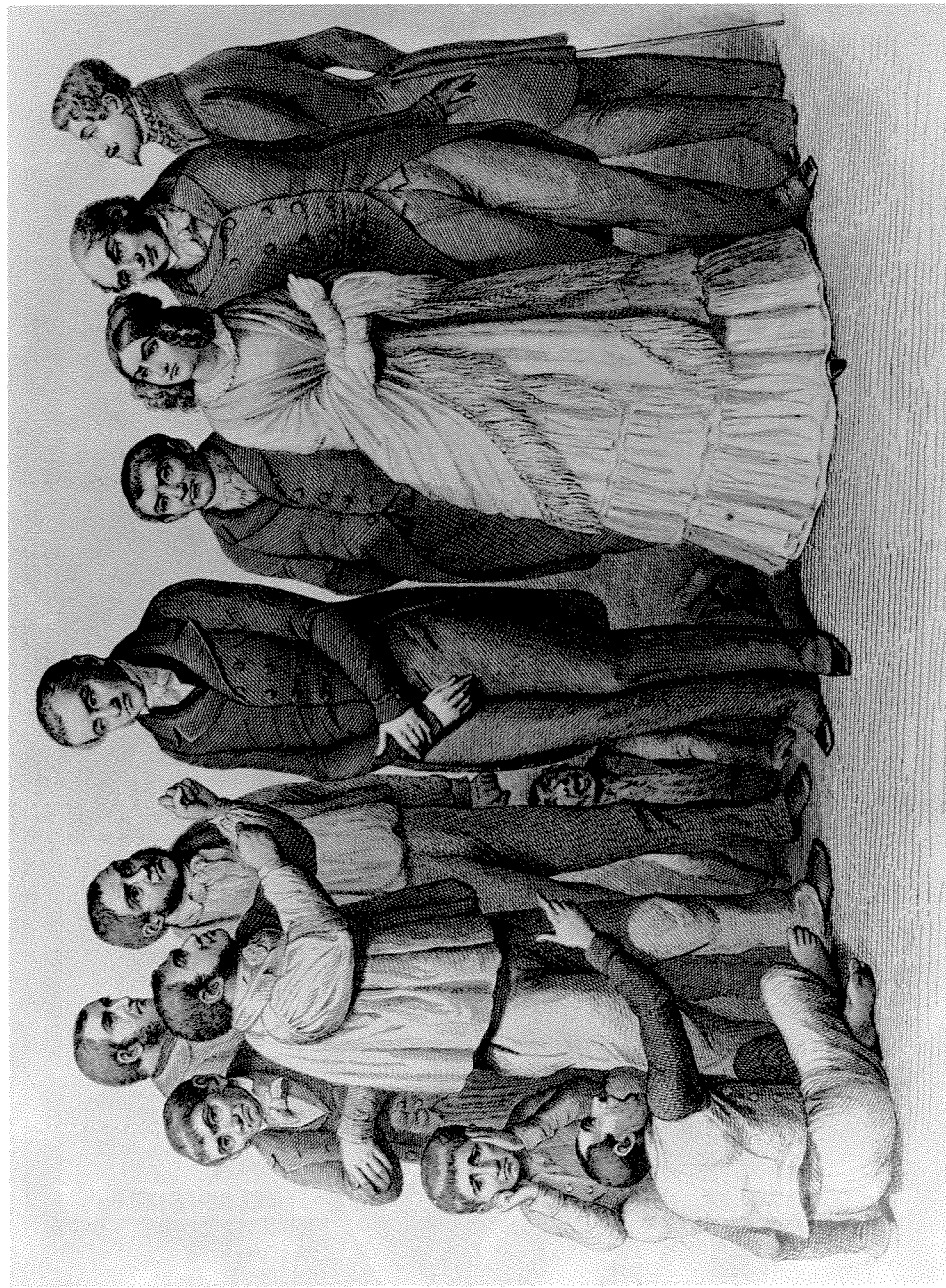


Fig. 2. 'Phrénologie le Docteur Spurzheim et les mauvaises organisations' (from Bruyères, n. 6, opposite p. 512).

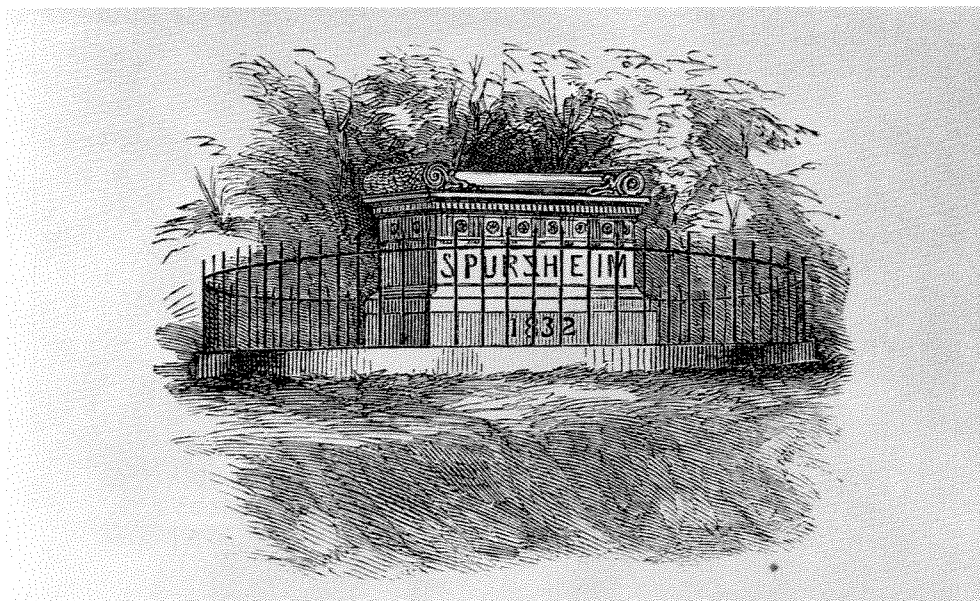


Fig. 3. Spurzheim's monument at Mount Auburn Cemetery as it appeared in 1875. The circular iron fence surrounding the monument has since been removed.

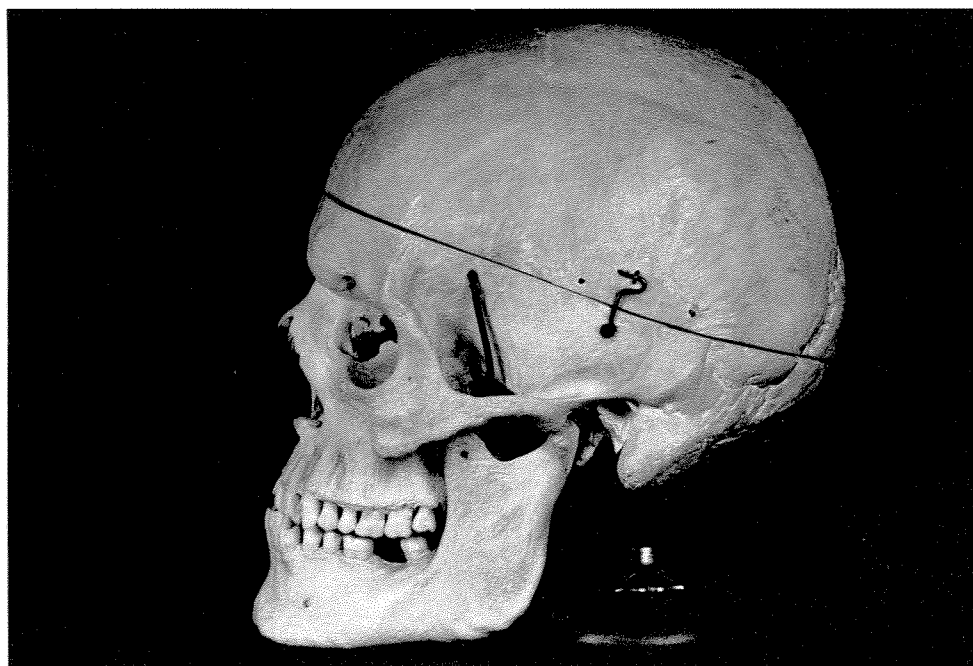


Fig. 4. Spurzheim's skull now in the collection of the Warren Anatomical Museum, Harvard Medical School, Boston, Massachusetts.

was lecturing almost every night of the week in addition to the lectures to the Harvard faculty. With visits to public institutions and receiving company as well, little time remained for the maintenance of health in the chilly autumnal New England clime.

Toward the end of the lecture series Spurzheim became increasingly ill. According to Charles Follen:

At one of his last lectures in Boston (the beautiful lecture on charity and mutual forbearance [Lecture No. xiv according to the 'Syllabus']), while he was diffusing light and warmth among his hearers, he was seen suddenly shivering. From that time his illness increased, he grew more feverish, but he continued to lecture. . . .³⁰

Through some problem in scheduling, the Masonic Temple where he was lecturing was not available for his last lecture, and it was announced in the Boston papers that the next lecture would be held in the Boston Athenæum. Spurzheim was not aware of the Athenæum's availability. Follen tells us further that

He [Spurzheim] had finished his course of lectures in this city [Cambridge] with the exception of one; and in order to prevent any uncertainty with regard to the place where he was to give his concluding lecture, and desirous of consulting the wishes of his hearers, before he left the hall, he inquired of them, 'In what place shall we meet next time?' He knew not that there was no human voice that could rightly answer this question. He returned from his lecture to his lodgings, not to leave them again.³¹

Capen, commenting on Spurzheim's condition, said:

. . . we observed a free and cold perspiration on his face, and saw that he was unusually pale and occasionally affected by chills. In his lecture he appeared feeble, and did not discover that lively animation which usually lighted up his countenance, and characterized his performances. He greatly exerted himself to edify his hearers, but they seemed to be more concerned for his health than interested in his subject. They rather sympathized with the sick man, than listened to the philosopher.³²

So important was this mission to Spurzheim that the entreaties of his friends could not persuade him it was necessary for him to cease lecturing entirely. For the first two or three days of his illness he consented only to a postponement, and announcements to this effect appeared in the Boston

30. Follen (n. 18), p. 26.

31. *Ibid.* Follen is referring to Spurzheim at the last lecture he was able to give in Cambridge (Lecture xvii).

32. Capen, *Biography* (n. 6), p. 121. Capen is referring to Spurzheim's condition toward the end of his lectures in Boston.

papers.³³ A major problem in managing his illness was that he was averse to all medication, and had been—so he stated—since childhood. He would not consent to bleeding, 'believing that literary men did not bear that evacuation.'³⁴ He reluctantly accepted the medical advice offered by Dr. William Grigg and consented to ingest epsom salts and occasionally small doses of opium; however, he managed his own case primarily and it was not until 30 October that he consented to allow Dr. James Jackson to attend him.³⁵ After a variety of medical treatments failed to improve his condition, he died on Saturday evening, 10 November, at 11:00 P.M.³⁶ An account of his death appeared in the *Daily Evening Transcript* the following Monday.³⁷ His death was attributed to 'a continued fever, in which the nervous symptoms were predominant,'³⁸ and these in turn to a combina-

33. *Daily Evening Transcript*, 1832, 3, No. 675 (30 October), p. 2.

34. Capen, *Biography* (n. 6), p. 122.

35. 'The attention of many of the citizens of Boston and of Cambridge to Dr. Spurzheim, while sick, was highly creditable to them. They were prompt to answer every call, to anticipate his wants, and to perform all those duties of kindness which his situation required. A particular acknowledgement is due Drs. J. Tuckerman, J. Barber, William Grigg, J. D. Fisher, S. G. Howe, J. G. Stevenson, W. Lewis, Jr., George Parkman, John Flint, Prof. Beck, Prof. Follen, and Mr. James A. Dorr.' Capen, *Biography* (n. 6), p. 123.

36. Under the direction of Dr. Jackson Spurzheim had consented to receive a mild liquid diet duly regulated in quantity, mild beverages, and had relied on his favorite remedy, the lavement, to regulate his bowels. Doses of wine, warm baths, and the application of a large blister were also tried. Toward the end, his sight failed, he was unable to speak; and hadn't sufficient strength to raise himself (Capen, *Biography* [n. 6], *passim*).

37. 'Death of Dr. Spurzheim. Dr. Gaspard F. Spurzheim died on Saturday night last at midnight [11 P.M.], at his residence in Pearl street, after an illness of nearly three weeks. His disease was Typhus Fever. He arrived in this city from New York, on the 22nd of August [20 August], and soon after commenced a series of lectures on Phrenology, which were not completed when his indisposition compelled him to relinquish them. . . . Since his arrival in this city, Dr. S. has made a most favorable impression, from his extensive learning and agreeable manners. His lectures were attended by large audiences and gave great satisfaction, for the ingenuity and learning which they displayed, independently of the merits of the peculiar system, which it was their leading object to develop. His death is sincerely lamented as that of an amiable and accomplished man. . . . We learned yesterday that his body was removed to the Medical Hospital, for post mortem examination. Casts will be taken of the cranium, face, and brain. The body will be embalmed and buried at Mount Auburn, to be delivered to his friends in Europe should they decide its removal. The funeral will take place at the Chapel of Harvard College [*sic*] and it is expected that an appropriate Eulogy will be pronounced.' *Daily Evening Transcript*, 1832, 3, No. 686 (Monday, 12 Nov.), p. 2.

38. Dr. Jackson gave the following description of Spurzheim's illness: 'It is interesting to many persons to learn the exact name of his disease. It may be called a continued fever, in which the nervous symptoms were predominant. There were no symptoms of putrescency, and no strong inflammatory symptoms. If it were called a pure typhus, the name would mislead many. It may be rather called a synochus, though not without dispute. Those who are accustomed to my teaching on this subject, know that I do not place a value on these names, not believing that nature recognizes the specific distinctions, which they are intended to designate. To those persons I should describe Dr. Spurzheim's disease thus: It was continued fever, in which the symptoms of the access came on insidiously, and were alone for many days; the symptoms of the other stages never became prominent; those of a crisis never appeared. There was not evidence of inflammation in any organ of the body. If inflammation did exist, it must be called latent.' Dr. Jackson as quoted by Capen, *Biography* (n. 6), pp. 125-126.

tion of causes, including overexertion, exposure to the changeableness of the New England climate, and long hours spent in the 'evening air.' His death certificate recorded in the city of Boston (under the name 'Gaspard F. Spurzheim') states simply that he died of 'fever.'

On Sunday morning, 11 November, a number of his friends gathered at his apartment at Mrs. Lekain's to determine procedures relative to his remains and his estate. At this point it was anticipated that his European friends would want his body shipped to Europe with his personal effects. Josiah Quincy chaired the meeting, and Dr. J. Greeley Stevenson was appointed secretary. It was voted

1. That the arrangement of the funeral obsequies of the deceased, and of the measures proper to be adopted to express a sense of public loss, by the death of Dr. Spurzheim, and the respect entertained by the inhabitants of this city and its vicinity for his talents and virtues be committed to

Josiah Quincy, LL.D.,
President of Harvard University,
Nathaniel Bowditch,
LL.D.,

Joseph Story, LL.D.,
Jos. Tuckerman, D.D.

Ch's. Follen, J.U.D.,
Jona. Barber, M.D.,
Charles Beck, P.D.,
William Grigg, M.D.,
George Bond, and
Ch's. P. Curtis, Esqrs.

2. Voted, that the body of Dr. Spurzheim be embalmed, and be placed in such a situation as will render it most suitable to be transmitted to his European friends and relatives, should they request it; and also that a cast of his head be taken, under the superintendence of

Drs. John C. Warren,
James Jackson,
Geo. C. Shattuck,
Walter Channing,
George Parkman,
John Ware,

Edward Reynolds, Jr.,
Winslow Lewis, Jr.,
J. Greeley Stevenson,
John D. Fisher,
William Grigg, and
Samuel G. Howe

3. Voted, that the papers, casts and other property of the deceased be committed to

John Pickering, LL.D.
Nath'l. Bowditch, LL.D.

Thomas W. Ward, and
Nahum Capen, Esqrs.³⁹

A meeting of the committee in charge of his funeral voted to have the obsequies on Saturday, 17 November, at 2:00 P.M. in the Old South Church. Dr. Tuckerman was requested to address the gathering, Dr. Follen to deliver the eulogy, the Rev. John Pierpont to write an ode, and the

39. Follen (n. 18), pp. 29-30.

Handel and Haydn Society to perform appropriate music.⁴⁰ On 14 November at a special meeting of the Boston Medical Association the members, having 'received with great satisfaction the visit of Dr. Spurzheim ...' and having 'high respect for his researches in Anatomy and Physiology . . .,' resolved not only to recommend his views to their fellow citizens, but also resolved that they viewed 'the decease of Dr. Spurzheim and the termination of his labors as a calamity to mankind . . .' and that their association, as a body, would attend the funeral.⁴¹

At 12:00 P.M. on 17 November, Dr. Spurzheim's remains were removed from the Medical College, accompanied by the members of the Boston Medical Association. The bells of the city were tolled from two to three o'clock, and the formal services began with an organ dirge by Zeuner. As planned, the Rev. Dr. Tuckerman addressed the congregation in prayer after which the funeral oration was delivered by Charles Follen. This oration, twenty-eight pages in length, included a good account of the life and labors of Spurzheim.⁴² The Handel and Haydn Society of Harvard College then sang with great effect Pierpont's 'Ode.'⁴³

Nearly three thousand people attended the ceremonies and many others were turned away, being unable to find room to stand. At the close of the ceremony Spurzheim's remains were placed in the receiving tomb for Mount Auburn Cemetery, then located under the Park Street Church. His body was accompanied by several hundred people, including both city and state officials, representatives of the major institutions of learning, and, in general, by the most illustrious men of Massachusetts.

. . . the decease of Spurzheim cast a gloom over the city not to be described by language. We have never known a death which seemed to excite so universal and sincere a feeling of grief. . . . [The citizens of Boston] saw that he was a man, eminent both for his learning and virtues, and they regarded his death not only as a public calamity, but a personal bereavement.⁴⁴

The committee in charge of the obsequies met for a second time on the evening of the funeral. It was decided that a place for permanent deposit of Spurzheim's remains should be obtained at Mount Auburn Cemetery and that a subscription be opened to finance the erection of a suitable monu-

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

42. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

43. J. Pierpont, 'Ode, for the funeral of Dr. Spurzheim, November 17th, 1832,' is included in Follen, *ibid.*, p. 32. This is also reproduced in Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), pp. 39-40.

44. Capen, *ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

ment over his tomb. After several weeks, when several hundred dollars had been raised, William Sturgis, a member of the committee in charge (the other members were Edward H. Robbins and Thomas H. Curtis), became impatient at the slowness of the subscription and requested 'that all sums already contributed should be returned to the subscribers, and he would pay for such a monument as the Committee would authorize.'⁴⁵ A simple Italian monument was finally selected, and, according to Capen, was the first monument placed at Mount Auburn.⁴⁶ Mr. Sturgis was not only honored by a vote of gratitude by the Boston Phrenological Society, founded on the day of Spurzheim's funeral,⁴⁷ but was presented with a copy of Spurzheim's works elegantly bound and a bust of Spurzheim executed by 'Bally.' The latter contained an inscription in Latin by the 'Marquis Moscati' which Pierpont translated as

Spurzheim is here! the Sage, who drew
Its secrets from the complex brain,
Who gave each power a place and name,
Surpassed, sublime, his Teacher's [Gall's] fame,
And died, imparting what he knew.⁴⁸

45. William Sturgis as quoted by Capen, *ibid.*, p. 43.

46. In his *A history of the cemetery of Mount Auburn* (Boston, 1860), Jacob Bigelow, President of the Corporation at that time, gave his account of the earliest interments. He stated that the first monument erected was to Miss Hannah Adams. Contrary to this and other accounts, Capen stated (*Reminiscences* [n. 6], p. 2) that both Miss Adams and Spurzheim were the first to be buried there. Bigelow does not mention Spurzheim. In any event, there seemed to be some confusion regarding Spurzheim's remains, for, in 1867, A. J. Coolidge, then Secretary of Mount Auburn, wrote to Capen requesting the particulars. Some people thought that Spurzheim's remains had been sent to Germany and the title 'First tenant in Mount Auburn' was apparently still open. As I have stated elsewhere (A. A. Walsh, 'Is phrenology foolish? A rejoinder,' *J. Hist. Behav. Sci.*, 1970, 6, 358-361[360]), 'the official records of Mount Auburn Cemetery have no [current] record of Spurzheim's interment although his monument is there.'

47. Many of those involved in Spurzheim's funeral, etc., gathered at the offices of the publishers Marsh, Capen & Lyon on the evening of 17 November 1832 to form this society 'for the purpose of investigating the science of phrenology and its bearings upon the physical, intellectual, and moral conditions of man' (Capen, *Reminiscences* [n. 6], p. 120). It was voted that the annual meetings would be held on 31 December, the birthday of the late Dr. Spurzheim. The officers of the society were all well-known Bostonians, physicians and public figures alike. The society lasted for ten years and the proceedings, addresses, and poems delivered on public occasions were published—J. Barber, *An address delivered before the Boston Phrenological Society, on the evening of its organization at the Masonic Temple, Dec. 31, 1832* (Boston, 1833), S. G. Howe, *An address delivered at the anniversary celebration of the Boston Phrenological Society, December 28th, 1835* (Boston, 1836), E. Bartlett, *An address delivered at the anniversary celebration of the birth of Spurzheim and the organization of the Boston Phrenological Society, January 1, 1838* (Boston, 1838), and those of James D. Green (30 December 1836) and George Combe (31 December 1839). These are discussed by Capen (*Reminiscences* [n. 6], pp. 122-123) and outlined in five appendices (*ibid.*, pp. 175-218).

48. *Ibid.*, p. 44. The presentation copy of Spurzheim's *The anatomy of the brain* (Boston [1834?]) is now in the possession of the Boston Athenæum.

In addition to the bust, there are several portraits, two made at the time of his death.⁴⁹

'WHEN I DIE, I HOPE THEY WILL NOT BURY MY SKULL...'

Following Spurzheim's death, his body was moved to the 'Medical College' where John Collins Warren performed the autopsy: 'I made a public examination of . . . [Spurzheim's body] in the presence of a crowded theatre, and preceeded the demonstrative part of the discourse by an account of the investigations and improvements and other labors of this distinguished and philanthropic gentleman.'⁵⁰ This examination probably took place not much later than Monday, 12 November 1832.⁵¹ Three days

49. Confirmed by Follen (n. 18), p. 27. Davies (n. 7), p. 17, claims that 'James G. Audubon' (John James Audubon [1785-1851]?) made one portrait but I have been unable to verify this. Rembrandt Peale may also have done a portrait (I have reference to this, but I am unable to verify the source; Peale did have G. Combe sit for him during the latter's American tour [Gibbon (n. 11), II, 56]). Two American portraits are extant, both executed by Alvan Fisher subsequent to Spurzheim's death. Fisher, a well-known artist, displayed his works at the Boston Athenæum and in his own studios. Both portraits depict Spurzheim lecturing. One is a full-face view; the other has been described as a 'strikingly naive profile' (A. Burroughs, *Limmers and likenesses: three centuries of American painting* [Cambridge, Mass., 1936], p. 127). Both are discussed in A. Burroughs, *Harvard portraits: A catalogue of portrait paintings at Harvard University* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 128-129). In the *Boston Atlas* for 20 November 1832 (p. 3/2) William Pendleton announced that he was to publish a lithograph of the Fisher portrait (probably the profile). At the same time, Fisher exhibited one of the paintings at his studio at 21 School Street (Boston); and in 1833 one was exhibited at the Boston Athenæum (footnote, Bowditch letter [n. 18], p. 77; and *Catalogue of the seventh exhibition of paintings in the [Boston] Athenæum Gallery* [Boston, 1833], p. 2). At present both paintings are owned by Harvard University. The full-face Fisher portrait is reproduced in Warren (n. 50), p. 3. These may be compared with the portrait by Stewart Watson included as a frontispiece to *Phrenol. J. & Miscel.*, 1833, 8, No. 35 (1 March). Another portrait by (or contributed by) Dr. R. M. Hodges (1867) is included in the listing of items in the Warren Museum (J. B. S. Jackson, *A descriptive catalogue of the Warren Anatomical Museum* [Boston, 1870], p. 723, item no. 3561). The Fisher profile serves as a frontispiece to Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), labeled 'John Gaspar Spurzheim, M.D. From Fisher's Painting, in The Possession of Hon. Moses Kimball, Boston. Photographed by Black.'

50. Warren (n. 29), II, 12. John Collins Warren was one of the earliest in this country, if not the earliest, to concern himself with Gall and Spurzheim's theories. He first learned of Gall's system when he was in Paris in 1801 and 1802 and reported that the system of 'craniognomy' was attracting some attention. Warren described his continued interest: 'The results of my labors were introduced into my annual lectures in Boston and Cambridge. In 1820, I made it [phrenology] the subject of an annual dissertation before the Massachusetts Medical Society, and then first recommended and introduced the subject of comparative anatomy into this part of the country. . . . The importance of phrenology is derived, according to my view, from the fact, that it leads to the development of the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system; and also the study of the forms of the crania enables us, in some measure, to understand the degree of intellectual power possessed by individuals.' (n. 29, II, 10-13.) See also J. Collins Warren, 'The collection of the Boston Phrenological Society—A retrospect,' *Ann. Med. Hist.*, 1921, 3, 1-11.

51. N. B. Shurtleff, M.D., 'Anatomical report on the skull of Spurzheim, read before the Boston Phrenological Society,' *Ann. Phrenol.*, 1835, 2, 72-78, reports that 'Dr. S. Died on the 10th of Nov. 1832. His brain was weighed on the 12th. Being present, I took an account of the weight, which after deducting for that of the napkins, &c, which were used, was exactly 3 pounds 7 ounces and 1 dram,

later Capen wrote to George Combe giving him a complete account of the circumstances surrounding Spurzheim's death to which Combe promptly replied,⁵² thanking Capen and expressing his deep appreciation for the way Spurzheim's funeral was conducted. 'In one particular only,' however, wrote Combe, 'would a knowledge of Dr. Spurzheim's own wishes have made an alteration.'⁵³ 'I have heard him say, "When I die, I hope they will not bury my skull—it will prove what my dispositions were, and afford the best answer to my Calumniators."⁵⁴ Capen 'did not feel at liberty to disregard a request so distinctly communicated, and by so distinguished a person. . . . By . . . [Capen's] request, this sad task was skillfully performed by Dr. Winslow Lewis, in the presence of several of his professional brethren.'⁵⁵ Spurzheim's brain and heart were also preserved and for years the Boston Phrenological Society was their proud possessor.⁵⁶ Spurzheim's remains were then deposited beneath the monument in a circular plot ten feet in diameter at Mount Auburn.⁵⁷

Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff's report on Spurzheim's skull has a somewhat flowery introduction:

or 55 $\frac{1}{8}$ ounces avoirdupoise. The brain was previously deprived of its liquors, and divested of the dura mater.' H. Maudsley (*Body and mind: an inquiry into their connection and mutual influence, specially in reference to mental disorders* [New York, 1875], p. 53) citing Dr. Thurman ('On the weight of the human brain,' *J. ment. Sci.*, April 1866 [sic]), gives the weight of Spurzheim's brain as 55.06 oz. Filing information for the cast of Spurzheim's skull in Warren Anatomical Museum at Harvard Medical School is as follows: 'Johann K. Spurzheim. Spurzheim Collection 1832, Stored July 18, 1966, P.I.Y. [Paul I. Yakovlev], Spurzheim Collection 1832, Jackson Cat. No., same [J. B. S. Jackson (n. 49), p. 723], German Physician and Phrenologist. Born 1776, died 1832, Original cast taken by Dr. Shurtleff, 1848.' Two photographs of full head masks of Spurzheim appear in L. H. McCormick, *Characterology an exact science, embracing physiognomy, phrenology and pathognomy, reconstructed, amplified and amalgamated, and including views concerning memory and reason and the location of these faculties within the brain likewise facial and cranial indications of longevity* (New York, 1920), pp. 68–69. There is no indication as to whether they are life or death masks. E. H. Ackerknecht and H. V. Vallois have also published a photograph of a Spurzheim mask (probably life); cf. Franz Joseph Gall, *inventor of phrenology and his collection* (Madison, 1956), p. 68.

52. Gibbon (n. 11), I, 277. The text of Capen's letter is in *Phrenol. J. & Miscel.*, 1833, 8, 127–128.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), p. 45.

56. The brain and heart were kept in a 'fireproof safe' within a 'fireproof building'—the Mastodon Museum—at 92 Chestnut Street. After several years the heart and brain preparations spoiled, and these are no longer available; cf. Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), p. 45; J. Collins Warren (n. 50), p. 6, and Bowditch letter (n. 18), p. 81.

57. Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), p. 45. An illustration of Spurzheim's monument as it appeared in 1875 may be found in *Guide through Mount Auburn: A handbook for passengers over the Cambridge railroad* (Boston, 1875), p. 33. A footnote to the Bowditch letter (n. 18), p. 81, indicates that a picture of Spurzheim's tomb may be found in *Sketches of Boston past and present*, part II, p. 107 [sic], but I have not been able to locate this volume to verify this. His monument is located on the corner of 'Central Avenue' and 'Indian Ridge Path.'

Having been appointed a committee on the skull of our lamented friend, Spurzheim—the anatomist who, by dissecting the brain, first displayed to the eye its fibrous and ganglionic structure, and demonstrated the direction and connection of its filaments—the discoverer of many of the relations existing between the spiritual faculties of the mind, and their material cerebral instruments—the philosopher who, by the greatness of his own mind, raised craniology, and physiognomy to the ethical science, Phrenology,—I offer with diffidence the following Report, fearing that it is unworthy of its subject, and less minute and extended than may have been wished.⁵⁸

Concerning himself with ‘an anatomical description of such parts of the cranium, as seem to have a phrenological bearing . . . ,’⁵⁹ Shurtleff reported that the skull was ‘larger than the average of large crania’—inferred in part by the ‘immense weight’ of the brain—⁶⁰ and that with two or three exceptions, it was the largest skull he had ever seen.⁶¹ He gave the complete series of anthropometrical measurements which were taken, e.g., ‘Greatest breadth of skull measured between the temporal bones 1 inch above the orifices of the ears . . . 6¼ [inches],’ and ‘Greatest circumference (measured horizontally) . . . 22¼ [inches],’ in addition to reporting that Camper’s facial angle was ‘small.’⁶² More detailed description followed—the thickness of the skull at various points, the measurements viewed phrenologically, and a comparison of Shurtleff’s measurements with the measurements taken in Edinburgh.

Spurzheim has been described as having been tall—about six feet—with a well-proportioned physique. He was considered to have a superior mind

58. Shurtleff (n. 51), p. 72.

59. *Ibid.* On 3 March 1828, ‘Mr. [George] Combe and Mr. Walter Tod’ made a phrenological delineation of Spurzheim’s head when he was in Edinburgh. This was published in *Phrenological J. & Miscel.*, 1833, 8, No. 35, 140–141. At this point in Shurtleff’s report he relates an anecdote regarding Gall’s wish to have his own skull placed in his collection after his death (p. 73). His wish was fulfilled, and the interested reader will find a photograph of it in Ackerknecht and Vallois (n. 51), p. 68.

60. Maudsley citing Thurman lists only two brains larger than Spurzheim’s: ‘[George] Cuvier, naturalist,’ 64.5 oz., and ‘[John] Abercrombie, physician,’ 63 oz. Cuvier’s brain was nearly 10 oz. heavier than Spurzheim’s.

61. Shurtleff (n. 51), p. 73.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 74; Camper’s angle may be obtained as follows according to Charles Bell: ‘If we present a skull in profile . . . we may begin by tracing a horizontal line, which shall pass through the foramen of the ear and the alveoli or sockets of the front or incisor teeth of the upper jaw. On this we can raise an oblique line, touching the sockets of the teeth and the most prominent point of the forehead, or the frontal bone. This is the facial angle of Camper; and by its obliquity it will be, to a certain degree, the measure of the relative proportion of the areas or spaces occupied by the brain and face.’ Bell did not accept Camper’s conclusions regarding the facial angle and proceeded to present his own system. Theoretically, as Camper’s angle more closely approximated the perpendicular, the more closely would the individual’s head resemble the classical, Grecian—and therefore desirable—head shape, one indicating among other things, great intelligence (C. Bell, *Expression: its anatomy and philosophy* [New York, 1883], pp. 21–44).

but in his relations with others he was rather humble though amiable in manner. Phrenologically, George S. Mackenzie described him as having

Philoprogenitiveness and attachement, well marked; courage, small; self-esteem, moderate; love of approbation, well developed; destructiveness, defective; acquisitiveness, small; cautiousness, large; wit, hope, ideality, marvelousness and imitation, weak; benevolence, veneration, firmness and justice, *strong*; form, order and number, *well developed*; coloring and tune, large; eventuality, individuality, causality and comparison, *large*.⁶³

SPURZHEIM'S ESTATE

Although it was announced in the 1 March 1833 issue of *The Phrenological Journal and Miscellany* that Spurzheim had named Mr. I. D. Holm of London his executor and administrator and that he had bequeathed his collection of busts, skulls, and books to the son of that gentleman, Holm neither acted nor received in connection with his American estate. Holm had planned to become Spurzheim's biographer, but to my knowledge, he did not do so.⁶⁴

On 19 November 1832, two days after Spurzheim's funeral, Thomas Wren Ward of Boston requested of Judge Joseph Hall that he be granted administration of the estate of 'Gaspard Spurzheim,' and that he be given permission to sell at a public or private sale Spurzheim's goods. On the same day, Ward, Nathaniel Bowditch, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch filed a bond in the amount of \$5,000 to be paid to Judge Hall as security for the administration of the estate. Hall, Judge of the Court of Probate in and for the County of Suffolk, on this date appointed and empowered Nathaniel I. Bowditch, Edward Wigglesworth, and Seth Bass as three suitable persons to take an inventory of all the real estate, goods, chattels, rights, and credits of 'Gaspard Spurzheim.'⁶⁵ The inventory was submitted and duly recorded as follows:

Inventory and appraisal of the goods and estate of Gaspard Spurzheim late a resident in the city of Boston in the County of Suffolk and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Physician, deceased intestate, as taken by us the subscribers under oath by virtue of the warrant hereto annexed.

63. As quoted by Capen, *Biography* (n. 6), p. 146.

64. *Phrenol. J. & Miscel.*, 1833, 8, 140.

65. According to Bowditch (n. 18), 'Mess Ward Pickering & [N. I.] Bowditch were . . . appointed a committee to take all proper measures for securing the goods & effects of Dr. S.—Accordingly his collection of casts masks skulls drawings &c. and all his other property were carefully collected & transported to an apartment in the Boston Athenæum and an Inventory was made out by Dr. Bass the librarian, Edward Wigglesworth Esq & Myself' (p. 79). All information on these proceedings is based on Suffolk County (Massachusetts) Probate files, No. 30044.

Box N ^o 1.	containing 23 whole human skulls 17 parts d ^o d ^o 39 skulls of animals, 21 of which are in a small box 42 large drawings of heads 29 small d ^o d ^o	} \$10- 7
Box N ^o 2	containing 63 plaster moulds	10
Box N ^o 3	containing 29 masks	5
Box N ^o 4	containing, a Doctor's case, a truss, a box of plaster, box of tapers, sponge, tooth brush, pin case, opera glass, smelling bottle, little box of bird skulls. 3 caps, 1 vest, 2 flannel vests 1 cotten vest 1 pair suspenders. 7 pair silk stockings 3 pair cotton d ^o 15 pair shirt collars, 7 shirts 2 pair drawers, 3 cravats 1 silk handkerchief 7 white handkerchiefs 2 pair gloves, 4 towels a black coat a flock coat and a surtout -- --	} 30-
Box N ^o 5	containing loose printed sheets & pamphlets a small portfolio with anatomical engravings cards of admis- sion to lectures—a small tin box with cologne in it 2 vests 2 cravats 1 coat 1 cloak 4 pair of pantaloons also the following books His own Treatise on Phrenology 1 copy—His 'out- lines of Phrenology' 12 copies, His 'Insanity' 1 copy, His . . . 'Natural law[s] of Man' 3 copies—Illustra- tions of Phrenology 1 copy Youth's book of Natural Theology Child's book on the soul [?] 2 copies, Mr Tuckerman's reports as Minister at large in Boston Rev. Mr Cal . . . is [?] Sermons—Communications of Mass. Medical Society vol 3 ^d Annals of Education Vol. 1 st 'Mrs Trollope's America' 1 vol Memoires Connecticut Academy—Dr. Jackson's text book of lectures before the Medical College 2 parts— Geog- raphy of Boston Speeches before the American Insti- tute of Instruction— 'Rights of Man' Gruglia's Dictionary [<i>sic</i>] French dictionary—small Johnson's dictionary	} 2 15 5
Box N ^o 6	contains a paper with cards &c. in it. sewing apparatus —a saw,—handkerchief &c. india rubber cleat [?] 15 shirts 9 pair of stockings 2 pair of flannel vests 2 pair of drawers 12 cambric [?] handkerchiefs 1 silk d ^o	} 25

Bag	containing 5 pair of boots	}	5
	2 pair of shoes		
	1 pair of slippers		
	one umbrella 2 hats 1 hat car[rier?] 2 brushes		3
			117
	two watches - - - - -		130
	8 gold pieces & 3 silver ones in a purse & 2, 5		
	franc pieces		30
	little snuff box		1
	3 small pocket maps & an eye glass		2
	Bank bills		170
	another small purse with money in it, viz.		1.46
	portfolio containing his manuscripts &c.		3
			<hr/> \$454.46

Seth Bass	}	Appraisers
Edward Wigglesworth		
Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch		
		T. W. Ward, adm.

In addition to the aforementioned, a promissory note in the amount of \$2,000 from Spurzheim's publisher, Marsh, Capen & Lyon, was included. Toward the end of May 1833 Boston papers announced that Ward was to present the first account of his administration of the estate, it was made on 17 June 1833. Corrections in the original inventory plus some additions brought the total value at this time to \$2,970.21. After various expenses totalling \$703.74 had been deducted—such as 'paid Boston Athenæum, for lecture room &c \$96,' 'Mrs Lecain [*sic*] board &c 78.50,' and 'Geo Bond—funeral expenses \$26.50'—the balance in the estate was \$2,266.47.

The second accounting by Ward was not made until 30 June 1834. At that time he reported that Hilliard Gray & Co. had sold Spurzheim's books on 26 August 1833 for \$538.98. All of his personal property was sold at auction on 7 June 1834 and had brought \$18.89 greater than the appraised value. In addition Ward reported that on 14 January 1834 Mr. C. B. Alexander was paid \$9.00 for 'removing the body to Mount Auburn.' This implies either that Spurzheim's body was not moved to Mount Auburn until a year and about two months after his death (not a very likely possibility) or that Alexander's bill was long overdue, which is probably the case.

The final evaluation of Spurzheim's estate was \$2,796.85—a rather meagre sum for such a well-known figure of the period; however, there may have been European properties. At this time Ward was ordered by Judge Hall to divide Spurzheim's estate such that

To Madam Therese Spurzheim widow of Mr Nicolas Hermesdorf of Schweick in the Canton of the same name & District of Treves in the Grand Dutchy of the lower Rhine a sister of . . . [Spurzheim] one third of said residue, viz The sum of nine hundred and thirty two dollars and twenty eight cents, to Willibrod Spurzheim of Oedenburg in Hungary, Watchmaker, a brother of . . . [Spurzheim] one other third of said residue . . . and to Mr. Charles Theodore Henry Spurzheim of Vienna, Master Sadler a brother of . . . [Spurzheim] the remaining third of said residue . . .

EPILOGUE

The phrenological society which had been founded on the day of Spurzheim's funeral was to have but a ten-year run. In 1842, according to Capen, 'the subject [of phrenology] had ceased to be a novelty.'⁶⁶ But Spurzheim was still remembered. Dr. (?) Robertson, a former classmate of Sir Charles Bell, at his death (1841) asked that his own skull be shipped to America to be placed beside Spurzheim's. In addition he bequeathed a collection of skulls and casts to the Boston Phrenological Society.⁶⁷

Phrenology did not die in America with the death of the Society. Contrary to Capen's observation, it had only begun to impress the American mind. At the time of Spurzheim's visit (and as a direct result of it) phrenology was discussed in the news both pro and con. It became a popular topic for collegiate debates and students were eager to test their powers of 'wit and ridicule.' Nelson Sizer, at the age of twenty, became convinced of phrenology's truth by his perusal of the many newspaper accounts of Spurzheim's remarks upon phrenology and took it up as his life's work.⁶⁸ But a more important event in phrenology's history, which took place during this period (1832-33), is described in his account.

In Amherst College it was sought to give . . . [the issue of phrenology] the *quietus* in . . . a debate, and to do it more effectually, Henry Ward Beecher, then a student there, was allotted the side which was to settle the new subject forever. On the question, 'Is Phrenology entitled to the name of Science?' Beecher was placed as a disputant on the negative, because it was thought his wit and oratory

66. Capen, *Reminiscences* (n. 6), p. 124.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 48. After Spurzheim's death The Boston Phrenological Society inherited—or bought at auction—Spurzheim's collection of skulls and casts. In addition, Mr. Holm of London donated some skulls and casts. The collection of phrenological casts and skulls has its own unique history. They were purchased after the dissolution of the Phrenological Society by John Collins Warren and now lie intact in The Warren Anatomical Museum (Warren [n. 50]). This writer hopes in the near future to complete a new accounting of this collection, including photographs of all remaining items.

68. N. Sizer, *Forty years in phrenology; embracing recollections of history, anecdote, and experience* (New York, 1882), p. 12.

would do the work, and at the same time furnish infinite merriment . . . he wisely resolved to send by stage to Boston, for the works of Spurzheim and Combe, so that he might be informed as to the claims of the so-called science which his wit and skill were expected to demolish. . . . he soon found he had been assigned a task he was unable to perform. He sought and obtained an adjournment of the debate for two weeks, at the end of which, he made one of the ablest speeches he had ever been heard to utter, not against, but in favor of the science. . . . After the debate Beecher asked a classmate 'Fowler, would you like to read my Phrenological works?' 'Yes, indeed,' was the eager reply, and thus the name of [O. S.] Fowler and Phrenology then and there became wedded.⁶⁹

Herein, however, lies a different tale. Orson Squire Fowler and his brother Lorenzo Niles founded what came to be known as 'practical phrenology'—reading character through the analysis of the cranial surface and through other phrenological indices—and were instrumental in keeping phrenology alive until well into this century.⁷⁰

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69. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13. For O. S. Fowler's account, see his *Human science or phrenology*, etc. (New York, 1873?), pp. 213–217.

70. Their British publishing house is still in business, although no longer connected with the Fowler family. A recent account of the work of the Fowler brothers is given in M. B. Stern, *Heads and headlines: the phrenological Fowlers* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1971).